

WHAT THE SUPREME COURT HAS DONE ON NEGRO CASES

(EDITOR'S NOTE: This is the second of a series of articles, prepared by a Chicago attorney, on Supreme Court decisions affecting Negroes, mainly since the Civil War. In view of the present national interest and bitter debate on President Roosevelt's proposal to augment the nation's highest tribunal, this survey, containing facts known to very few Negroes, assumes unusual significance. We suggest you read each article carefully and save them for reference.)

By ATTY. SIDNEY A. JONES, JR., For A.N.P.

II. DECISIONS ON DISFRANCHISEMENT (Cont.)

It is interesting to note the Negro has always fought to secure the right to vote and to nullify the action of the Southern states in denying this right, but in many instances after waging a long fight to the supreme court of the state, in the United States district court and then to the Circuit Court of Appeals of the United States, and finally to the like have been denied relief because of some technicality or because of some un-themselves to qualify. *Democratic White Primary*

The southern states are now nullified state action in some in-white primary to prevent Negroes from attempting directly from participating in the Democratic or indirectly to defeat the Democratic primaries of the southern of the Fifteenth amendment. In states, and inasmuch as the pri-1910 amendment was passed to may is the important thing, this the Oklahoma constitution, requires amounts to a practically complete voters to be able to read and denial of the right to vote. write any section of the state. The first decision dealing with constitution, but excepting there-the legality of the Democratic from persons who prior to January white primary was rendered by 1, 1866, were entitled to vote under the supreme court in 1927 in the any form of government, or whose case of Nixon v. Herndon. L. A. on that date resided in a foreign Nixon brought suit in the United nation or who were lineal descendants of such persons. Inasmuch against Herndon and another judge as the Fifteenth amendment was of elections for denying him the not proclaimed until March 30 right to vote in a Democratic pri-1870, it is obvious that this above-mentioned at El Paso in 1924. The de-clause of the constitution was based upon the Texas exclude all whites from the read-statute enacted in 1923 which pro- and writing requirement, but vided, among other things, "In no would include all Negroes. event shall a Negro be eligible to

This part of the constitution was participate in a Democratic pri- upheld by the Oklahoma supreme election held in the state of court, but in 1915 in the case of Texas." Guinn v. United States, the "grand-father clause" was declared unconstitutional as a violation of the Justice Holmes, speaking for the Fifteenth amendment in that it is court, said, "We find it unnecessary to consider the Fifteenth right to vote on account of race, amendment because it seems to us color and previous condition of hard to imagine a more direct and obvious infringement of the Fourteenth amendment. That amendment is a great milestone in the fight of Negroes against the southern states' denial of the passed, as we know, with a special right to vote by the laws which intent to protect the blacks from their faces do not appear to strike discrimination against them."

Dodging Court Ruling
Texas Democrats were not to be outdone, however. The statute was amended and provided that every "grandfather clause" of Oklahoma political party in the state, through and requirement of literacy tests the State executive committee,

could have the power to prescribe the qualifications of its own members and should in its own way determine who shall be qualified to groes of the ballot. In discussing the U. S. supreme court upholding vote or otherwise participate in this law the supreme court of Mississippi said: "Within the field of convention, when in 1932 in the state, the Democratic state executive committee passed a resolution that only white persons could participate in the Democratic primary, the convention sweeped the field of expediency, to obstruct the exercise of suffrage by the Negroes. Texas contended, and in the case of Grigsby v. Harris, the United States district court in Texas doing against the Negro race, the clared that this act of the executive committee was not a violation of any right granted by the United States constitution.

The colored voter, however, con-

tinued that the state had de-in 1898, in the case of Williams v. Mississippi, that no relief could be granted Negroes under the operation of the Democratic party, and hence was a party to the discrimination, was shown that it conferred a dis- and therefore violating the Four-cretion on the election judges reading tenth and Fifteenth amendments. Colored Democrats appealed to the U. S. supreme court and on May 1, 1932, the supreme court held in the case of Nixon vs. Condon that the

Democratic state executive committee could not bar Negroes, but the supreme court did suggest a way that Negroes could be barred by stating that the power resided in the State Democratic conven-

tion, if at all.

After this the Texas Democratic state convention voted to bar Negroes from its party. Of course, the supreme court of Texas upheld this decision and also the supreme court of the United States upheld it in 1935 in Grovey vs. Townsend, so after these many years of fighting by the Negroes of Texas in an effort to participate in the Democratic primary, the Negro is just where he started.

Other Methods of Disfranchising Negroes

The chief method of the southern states in disfranchising Negroes has been very effective, and has even met the approval of the United States supreme court. This method consists in excluding those from voting who do not pay poll taxes, who have been convicted of certain crimes, or who can not read and interpret the state constitution. The only prohibition of the federal constitution to the states concerning voting is that no state shall deny to any person the right to vote because of race or sex. The constitution adopted as the qualifications of voting for federal officers those qualifications laid down by each state for voting as passed by the lower or most numerous branch of the state legisla-

tive body. In the state where selection in the primary is usually tantamount to actual election, the privilege to vote in the primary seems to be so connected with the election of state officials that any exclusion of Negroes from the primaries should be considered state action. As a matter of fact, the Texas legislature had so surrounded the primary election with restrictions as to cause the Texas supreme court to say in 1906 that "the legislature has assumed control of

The Mississippi suffrage law is that subject to the exclusion of typical of those passed with the party action." It is difficult to understand this latest decision of the U. S. supreme court upholding the action of the Democratic state permissible action under the limitations imposed by the federal supreme court held that it was unconstitutional to delegate to the white Democrats the exercise of suffrage by the Negroes.

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By ATTY. SIDNEY A. JONES, JR., For A.N.P.

II. DECISIONS ON DISFRANCHISEMENT (Cont.)

It is interesting to note the Negro has always fought to secure the right to vote and to nullify the action of the Southern states in denying this right, but in many instances after waging a long fight to the supreme court of the United States, and finally to the like have been largely nullified and denied relief because of some technicality or nicety, or because of some un-themselves to qualify. The southern states are now nullified state action in some in-white primary to prevent Negroes from indirectly defeating the Democratic primaries of the southern of the Fifteenth amendment. Instances, and inasmuch as the primary of the Fifteenth amendment was passed toamatory is the important thing, this the Oklahoma constitution, requiring amounts to a practically complete write out section of the state. The first decision dealing with this question, but excepting there-the legality of the Democratic from persons no prior to January white primary was rendered by the supreme court in 1927 in the case of Nixon v. Herndon. L. A. Nixon brought suit in the United States district court of Texas on that date resided in a foreign Nixon brought suit in the United States against Herndon and another judge the Fifteenth amendment was of elections for denying him the right to vote in a Democratic primary not proclaimed until March 30 right to vote in a Democratic primary until March 30, 1924. The decision of the constitution would exclude all whites from the read-statute enacted in 1923 which providing and writing requirement, but vided, among other things, "In no event shall a Negro be eligible to participate in a Democratic primary held by the Oklahoma supreme election held in the state of court, but in 1915 in the case of Texas." This part of the constitution was the "grand-father clause" was declared unconstitutional. The supreme court held the constitutional as a violation of the Justice Holmes, speaking for the Fifteenth amendment in that it is court, said, "We find it unnecessary to abridge the right to vote on account of race amendment because it seems to us right to vote on account of race amendment, while it applies to all, was a denial or previous condition of servitude. This case is a great milestone in the fight of Negroes against the Southern states' denial of the right to vote by the laws which on their faces do not appear to strike at the Negro, but which in effect do so.

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could have the power to prescribe the qualifications of its own members and should in its own way express intention or depriving Negroes of the ballot. In discussing the U. S. supreme court upholding such party. Pursuant to this state, the Democratic state executive committee passed a resolution imposing any right granted by the United States constitution.

That only white persons could participate in the Democratic primaries. he white Democrats on the exercise of suffrage by the Negro race. Restrained by the federal supreme court held that it was unconstitutional to delegate to the executive committee the power to discriminate against the Negro race, the executive committee was not a violation of his characteristics, and the offensive committee was not a violation of any right granted by the United States constitution.

The Mississippi suffrage law is that subject to the exclusion of those passed with the party action." It is difficult to determine who shall be qualified to groes of the ballot. In discussing the U. S. supreme court upholding such party. Pursuant to this state, the Democratic state executive committee passed a resolution imposing any right granted by the United States constitution.

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maries on the same day that it so jubilant over the face that the supreme court had again prevented Negroes from legally lynching an innocent Negro boy. Most Negroes were

so jubilant over the face that the Negro boy that they, to a very large extent, ignored the Texas primary decision. It seems to me the Negro

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By Atty. SIDNEY A. JONES, Jr.,
(For ANP)

II.—DECISIONS ON DISFRANCHISEMENT (Continued)

It is interesting to note the Negro has always fought to secure the right to be able to read and write any section of the state constitution, but excepting which in effect do so. Southern states in denying this right, there from persons who prior to January 1, 1866, were entitled to vote un-

der any form of government, or who on that date resided in a foreign nation or who were lineal descendants of such persons. Inasmuch as the Fifteenth Amendment was not proclaimed until March 30, 1870, it is obvious that this above clause of the constitution would exclude all whites from the reading and writing requirement, but would include all Negroes.

This part of the constitution was upheld by the Oklahoma supreme court, but in 1915 in the case of Guinn v. United States, the "grandfather clause" was declared unconstitutional as a violation of the Fifteenth Amendment

in that it is a denial or abridgment of the right on account of race, color and previous condition of servitude.

This case is a great milestone in the fight of Negroes against the Southern states' denial of the right to vote by the laws which on their faces do not appear to strike at the Negro, but which in effect do so.

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father clause" of Oklahoma and requirement of literacy tests and property ownership and the like have been largely nullified either by the Supreme Court decision or the efforts of Negroes themselves to qualify.

Democratic White Primary

The Southern states are now using very effectively the so-called White Primary to prevent Negroes from par-

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much as the primary is the important thing, this amounts to a practically complete denial of the right to vote.

The first decision dealing with the legality of the Democratic white primary was rendered by the Supreme Court in 1927 in the case of Nixon v. Herndon. L. A. Nixon brought suit in the United States District court of Texas against Herndon and another judge of elections for denying him the right to vote in a Democratic primary at El Paso in 1924. The denial was based upon the Texas statute enacted in 1923 which provided, among other things, "In no event shall a Negro be eligible to participate in a Democratic Primary Election held in the state of Texas."

The Supreme Court held the Texas statute was unconstitutional. Justice Holmes, speaking for the Court, said: "We find it unnecessary to consider the Fifteenth amendment because it seems to us hard to imagine a more direct and obvious infringement of the Fourteenth amendment. That amendment, while it applies to all, was passed with the express intention of depriving Negroes of the right to protect the blacks from discrimination against them."

Dodge Court Ruling

Texas Democrats were not to be outdone, however. The statute was amended and provided that every political party in that state, through the Negro race, could have a constitution from discriminating the power to prescribe qualifications against the Negro race, the convention of its own members and should in its own way determine who shall be qualified, and the offense to which it isified to vote or otherwise participate in criminal members are prone." Pursuant to this statute, the U. S. Supreme Court decided in the Democratic State Executive Com-1898, in the case of Williams v. Mississippi, that no relief could be granted white persons could participate in the Negroes under the operation of this Democratic Primaries. The white law, even though it was shown that Democrats of Texas contended, and in the case of Grigsby v. Harris, the U. S. District Court in Texas declared that this act of the Executive committee was not a violation of any right granted by the United States Constitution.

The colored voter, however, contended that the state had delegated control of the political parties to the Executive Committee of the Democratic party, and hence was a party to the laws providing certain definite and discrimination, and therefore violating impartial qualifications for voting.

The Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments. Colored Democrats appealed to the U. S. Supreme Court and on May 1, 1932, the Supreme Court held in the case of Nixon vs. Condon that the Democratic State Executive Committee could not bar Negroes, but reversing the conviction of the Scottsboro boy. Most Negroes were so jubilant over the fact that the Supreme Court had again prevented the state Democratic convention, if at all.

After this the Texas Democratic State convention voted to bar Negroes from its party. Of course, the Supreme Court of the United States upheld it in 1935 in Grovey vs. Townsend. Texas Primary decision than it was so that after these many years of fighting by the Negroes of Texas in an effort to participate in the Democrat-

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In a state where selection in the primary is usually tantamount to actual election, the privilege to vote in the primary seems to be so connected with the election of state officials that been very effective and has even met any exclusion of Negroes from the primaries should be considered state action. As a matter of fact, the Texas legislature had so surrounded the primary election with restrictions as to exclude those from voting who do not pay poll taxes who have been convicted of certain crimes, or who cannot read and interpret the state constitution. The only provision difficult to understand this latest decision of the federal constitution to the states of the U. S. Supreme Court upholding the action of the Democratic Party is that no state shall deny to any person the right to State convention, when in 1932 in the vote because of race.

The con-case of Nixon v. Herndon the Supreme Court held that it was unconstitutional that it was unconstitutional to delegate to the executive committee the power to exclude Negroes.

The Mississippi suffrage law is typical of those passed with the express intention of depriving Negroes of the ballot. In discussing this law the supreme court of Mississippi said: "Within the field of permissible action under the limitations imposed by the federal constitution, the convention swept the field of expediency, to obstruct the exercise of suffrage by the Negro race. Restrained by the federal State Executive Committee, could haveal constitution from discriminating the power to prescribe qualifications against the Negro race, the convention of its own members and should in its own way determine who shall be qualified, and the offense to which itsified to vote or otherwise participate in criminal members are prone."

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Court Decisions, Affecting the Negro - 1937

What the Supreme Court Has Done to the Negro

The Nine Old Men Helped the South Disfranchise Negro Citizens by Their Decision in the Texas Election Cases

(Continued from last week)

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United States Supreme Court's Decisions On Disfranchisement

**Finds It Difficult To Understand Justices' Ruling
In Upholding Texas' Barriers To Free**

Use Of The Franchise
Efforts To Secure Ballot Often Lost In Highest
Tribunal On Technicalities. Student Of

Court's Record Declares

By ATTY. SIDNEY A. JO
(For A. N. P.)

EDITOR'S NOTE:—This is the second of a series of articles prepared by Atty. Sidney A. Jones, Jr., of Chicago on Supreme Court decisions affecting Negroes. The third article in this group will deal with high court decisions on "Civil Rights and Segregation."

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Inasmuch as the Fifteenth Amendment was not proclaimed until March 30, 1870, it is obvious that this above clause of the constitution would exclude all whites from the reading and writing requirement, but would include all Negroes.

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The Southern states are now using very effectively the so-called "white primary" to prevent Negroes from participating in the Democratic primaries of the South. The Supreme Court decision of May 1944, upholding the "white primary" in the state of Texas, has been largely nullified either by state or federal legislation. The efforts of Negroes themselves to qualify for the primaries amounts to a practically complete disfranchisement.

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third article in this group will

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"Civil Rights and Segregation."

III.—DECISIONS ON DISFRANCHISEMENT

The Southern states are now using very effectively the so-called "grandfather clause" of Oklahoma and requiring voters to be able to read and write any section of the state constitution, but excepting those from persons who prior to January 1, 1866, were entitled to vote under any form of government, or who on that date resided in a foreign nation or such persons.

Inasmuch as the Fifteenth Amendment was not proclaimed until March 30, 1870, it is obvious that this above clause of the constitution would exclude all whites from the reading and writing requirement, but would include all Negroes.

IT IS interesting to note the Negro has always fought to secure Negroes.

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Justice Holmes, speaking for

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Efforts To Disfranchise the Negro

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vided, among other things, "In no event shall a Negro be eligible to participate in a Democratic Party Primary Election held in the state of Texas."

The Supreme Court held the Texas statute was unconstitutional. Justice Holmes, speaking for the Court, said, "We find it unnecessary to consider the Fifteenth Amendment because it seems to us hard to imagine a more direct and obvious infringement of the Fourteenth Amendment. That amendment, while it applies to all, was passed, as we know, with a special intent to protect the blacks from discrimination against them."

DODGE COURT RULING

Texas Democrats were not to be outdone, however. The statute was amended and provided that every political party in that state, through the State Executive Committee, could have the power to prescribe the qualifications of its own members and should in its own way determine who shall be qualified to vote or otherwise participate in such party.

Pursuant to this statute the Democratic State Executive committee passed a resolution that only white persons could participate in the Democratic Primaries. The white Democrats of Texas contendend, and in the case of Grigsby vs. Harris, the United States District Court in Texas declared that this act of the executive committee was not a violation of any right granted by the United States constitution.

The colored voter, however, contended that the state had delegated control of the political parties to the Executive Committee of the Democratic party, and hence was a party to the discrimination, and therefore violating the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments.

Colored Democrats appealed to the U. S. Supreme Court and on May 1, 1932, the Supreme Court held in the case of Nixon versus Condon that the Democratic State Executive Committee could not bar Negroes, but the Supreme Court did suggest a way that Negroes could be barred by stating that the power resided in the State Democratic convention, if at all.

After this the Texas Democratic State convention voted to bar Negroes from its party. Of course, the Supreme Court of Texas upheld this decision and also the Supreme Court of the United States upheld it in 1935 in Grovey versus Townsend, so that after many years of fighting by the Negroes of Texas in an effort to participate in the Democratic Primary, the Negro is just where he boy started.

The chief method of the Southern states in disfranchising Negroes has been very effective, and has even met the approval of the United States Supreme Court. This method consists in excluding those from voting who do not pay poll taxes, who have been convicted of certain crimes, or who can not read and interpret the state constitution.

The only prohibition of the federal constitution to the states concerning voting is that no state shall deny to any person the right to vote because of race or sex. The constitution adopted as the qualifications of voting for federal officers those qualifications laid down by each state for voting as passed by the lower or most numerous branch of the state legislature.

The Mississippi suffrage law is typical of those passed with the express intention of depriving Negroes of the ballot. In discussing this law the supreme court of Mississippi said: "Within the field of permissible action under the limitations imposed by the federal constitution, the convention swept the field of expedients, to obstruct the exercise of suffrage by the Negro race. Restrained by the federal constitution from discriminating against the Negro race, the convention discriminates against his characteristics, and the offense to which its criminal members are prone."

The U. S. Supreme Court decided in 1898, in the case of Williams versus Mississippi, that no relief could be granted Negroes under the operation of this law, even though it was shown that it conferred a discretion on the election judges readily susceptible to abuse in that it allowed the registration board to pass on the ability of electors to interpret the state constitution. The court held that it was "not actually shown" that there was actual discrimination in the administration of the law.

AMENDMENT ONLY RELIEF

The only relief for the Negro from these laws is a constitutional amendment providing certain definite and impartial qualifications for voting.

Most Negroes were so jubilant over the fact that the Supreme Court had again prevented the state of Alabama from legally lynching an innocent Negro boy that they, to a very large extent, ignored the Texas primary decision. It seems to me the Negro race as a whole was harmed more by the Texas Primary decision than it was benefited by the Scottsboro decision, because if the Negroes were given the right to vote in the South there would be no such things as Scottsboro cases.

In a state where selection in the primary is usually tantamount to actual election, the privilege to vote in the primary seems to be so connected with the election of state officials that any exclusion of Negroes from the primaries should be considered state action.

As a matter of fact, the Texas legislature had so surrounded the primary election with restrictions as to cause the Texas supreme court to say in 1906 that "the legislature has assumed control of that subject to the exclusion of party action." It is difficult to understand this latest decision of the U. S. Supreme Court upholding the action of the Democratic State convention, when in 1932 in the case of Nixon versus Herndon the Supreme Court held that it was unconstitutional to delegate to the executive committee the power to exclude Negroes.

Court Decisions Affecting the Negro - 1937

The SUPREME COURT

Afro-American 3-27-37

PRO CON

By S. H. JONES, JR., Attorney

(For ANP)

secure the full protection intended for them by the Constitution.

In 1875, the case of United States vs. Reese involving the Fifteenth Amendment came before the Supreme Court. There had been an indictment against election inspectors for refusal to receive and count the vote of a colored citizen at a municipal election in Kentucky.

The Court held that the section of the Amendment relating to inspectors of elections omitted all reference to race and color, and, therefore, the indictment could not be sustained. This was the first case brought to the Supreme Court by a colored person in order to enforce the Act of Congress passed pursuant to the Enforcement Act specifically prohibited such things.

The defendants were convicted in the lower courts, but the Supreme Court reversed the convictions on the technicality that the indictments, although they stated that the injured persons were persons of African descent, did not allege that the wrongs done against them were on account of their race or color.

The court held that the Act, not being confined to unlawful discrimination on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, was beyond the limit of the Fifteenth Amendment.

The Amendment gave Congress the right to protect citizens from the denial of the right to vote on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, and the Supreme Court held that Congress had attempted to protect all citizens in the right to vote, and hence an indictment of election officials for refusing a colored person the right to vote could not be sustained.

This illustrates the technical manner in which the Supreme Court has repeatedly defeated the efforts of colored citizens to

The court, however, did in 1884, in the case of Ex Parte Yarbrough, uphold a section of a Federal Reconstruction Statute which sought to protect the colored man's right to vote. Several persons were convicted in the Federal Circuit Court in the northern district of Georgia for conspiracy to intimidate a colored person from voting for members of Congress in violation of a Federal statute.

Those convicted filed a petition for a writ of habeas corpus seeking their release on the ground that Congress had no power to pass a Federal law preventing such an offense. The Supreme Court denied the petition and held that Congress has the right to protect citizens in their right to vote.

Rulings on Franchise

The colored citizen has always fought for the right to vote and to nullify the action of the southern States in denying this right. But often after waging a long fight to the State supreme court in the U.S. District court, then to the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals and finally to the Supreme Court, he has been denied relief because of some technicality or because of some unusual construction of the act of Congress.

The Supreme Court, however, has nullified State action in some instances which attempted directly or indirectly to defeat the purpose of the Fifteenth Amendment.

In 1910, an amendment was passed to the Oklahoma constitution requiring voters to read and write any section of the State constitution, but excepting persons who, prior to January 1, 1866, were entitled to vote under any form of government, or who, on that date, resided in a foreign nation, or who were lineal descendants of such persons.

Inasmuch as the Fifteenth Amendment was not proclaimed until March 30, 1870, it is obvious that this above clause of the constitution would exclude all whites from the reading and writing requirement, but would include all colored citizens.

This part of the constitution was upheld by the Oklahoma Supreme Court, but in 1915, in the case of Guinn vs. U.S., the "grandfather clause" was de-

clared unconstitutional as a violation of the Fifteenth Amendment in that it is a denial or abridgement of the right to vote

on account of race, color and previous condition of servitude.

Democratic White Primary

The southern States now use the so-called White Primary to prevent colored citizens from participating in the Democratic primaries of the southern States, and inasmuch as the primary is virtually, the election, this amounts to a practically complete denial of the right to vote.

The first decision dealing with the legality of the Democratic white primary was rendered by the Supreme Court in 1927 in the case of Nixon vs. Herndon. Dr.

L. A. Nixon brought suit in the U.S. District court of Texas against Herndon and another judge of elections for denying him the right to vote in a Democratic primary at El Paso in 1924.

The denial was based upon the Texas statute enacted in 1923 which provided, among other things, "In no event shall a colored person be eligible to participate in a Democratic Party primary election held in the State of Texas."

The Supreme Court held the Texas statute was unconstitutional.

Dodge Court Ruling

Texas Democrats were not to be outdone, however. The statute was amended and provided that every political party in that State, through the State executive committee, could have the power to prescribe the qualifications of its own members and should, in its own way, determine who shall be qualified to vote or otherwise participate in such party.

Pursuant to this statute the Democratic State executive committee passed a resolution that only white persons could participate in the Democratic primaries.

The colored voter, however, contended that the State had delegated control of the political parties to the executive committee of the Democratic party, and hence, was a party to the discrimination, and, therefore, violating the Fourteenth and Fif-

teenth Amendments.

Colored Democrats appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, and on May 1, 1932, the court held in the case of Nixon vs. Condon that the Democratic State executive

committee could not bar colored citizens, but did suggest a way that colored citizens could be barred by stating that the power resided in the State Democratic convention, if at all.

After this, the Texas Democratic State convention voted to bar colored citizens from its party. The Texas Supreme Court upheld this decision and also the U.S. Supreme Court upheld it in 1935 in Grovey vs. Townsend, so that after these many years of fighting by the colored citizens of Texas in an effort to participate in the Democratic primary, the colored man is just where he started.

Other Methods of Disfranchising

The chief method of the South used in disfranchising colored citizens effectively, which has even met the approval of the U.S. Supreme Court, consists in excluding those from voting who do not pay poll taxes, who have been convicted of certain crimes, or who can not read and interpret the State constitution.

The only prohibition of the Federal constitution to the States concerning voting is that no State shall deny to any person the right to vote because of race or sex.

The Mississippi suffrage law is typical of those passed with the express intention of depriving colored citizens of the ballot. In discussing this law, the supreme court of Mississippi said:

"Within the field of permissible action under the limitations imposed by the Federal constitution, the convention swept the field of expedients, to obstruct the exercise of suffrage by the colored race. Restrained by the Federal constitution from discriminating against the colored race, the convention discriminates against his characteristics, and the offense to which its criminal members are prone."

The U.S. Supreme Court decided in 1898, in the case of Williams vs. Mississippi, that no relief

could be granted colored persons under the operation of this law.

The only relief for the colored citizen from these laws is a constitutional amendment providing certain definite and impartial qualifications for voting.

SUPREME COURT HAS PREVENTED MUCH MISTREATMENT OF RACE IN THE SOUTH

But Justices Have Never Saved Negro From An Act of Congress Aimed At Denying Him Any Rights, Lawyer Finds

By ATTY. SIDNEY A. JONES, JR.

PEONAGE was given a severe blow by the Supreme Court in the case of *Bailey vs. Alabama* decided in 1911 (219 U. S. 219). The Court for the first time gave real effect to the Thirteenth amendment by holding the Alabama peonage law invalid. This law attempted to make the violation of a contract for personal services a penal offense.

The court held that a state cannot compel one man to labor for another in payment of a debt by punishing him as a criminal if he does not perform the services or pay the debt. The state of Alabama later tried to evade an act of Congress prohibiting slavery, but was prevented by the Supreme Court in *United States vs. Reynolds* in 1914 (235 U. S. 133).

HALTED TREATMENT

Practically all cases where the Negro has been helped by the Supreme Court arose from discriminations against him by some in the Southern states. The Supreme Court has prevented much mistreatment of the Negro by the Southern states, but it has also sanctioned much discrimination, including separate schools, Jim Crow laws, disfranchisement by white primaries and other methods.

The Supreme Court has never lectured a tax for the high school, saved the Negro from an act of Congress aimed at denying him any rights. On the other hand the Supreme Court has in six decided cases declared acts of Congress unconstitutional which had as their sole purpose the protection of Negroes' rights, privileges and immunities.

ON NEGRO EDUCATION

All of the Southern states by law require separate schools for white and colored people. As a result of this segregation the colored schools are vastly inferior to the white schools and in some cases there are no colored schools at all.

In some communities there are high schools for whites and none for Negroes, and no Southern state provides professional education for Negroes, such as law, medicine, dentistry, pharmacy and the like, nor does any Southern state provide facilities for Negroes to earn de-

grees in graduate study. But the Negroes have not yet willingly submitted to this rank discrimination. They have fought up to the Supreme Court of the United States, but they have received no relief.

A typical example of how Southern states discriminate against Negroes in the matter of education, taxing Negroes to support all schools, and then giving them unequal facilities, is brought out in a case decided by the Supreme Court in 1889. *Cummings vs. Board of Education*. In this case an elementary school for Negroes was provided by a Georgia city, whereas it provided an elementary and high school for the whites.

FILE INJUNCTION Certain Negroes filed a petition to enjoin the tax board from collecting for a white high school.

On the ground that these were no Negroes who wanted to attend high school, and that if they provided a Negro high school, they would have to close the elementary school which accommodated 300 children.

The Supreme Court refused to grant the relief prayed for because it either would impair the efficiency of the high school provided for white children, or compel the board to close it, and if that were done, the result would be to take from the white children educational facilities be-

longing to them, without giving to colored children additional opportunities for the education furnished in high schools.

COURT'S RULING

The Court said, however, that if in some appropriate proceeding Negroes had sought directly to compel the board of education out of the funds in its hands, or under its control, to establish and maintain a high school for colored children, "and if it appeared that the board's refusal to maintain such a school was in fact an abuse of its discretion, and in hostility to the colored population because of their race, different questions might have arisen."

In 1927 in the case of *Gong Lum vs. Rice*, the Supreme Court decided that a child of Chinese blood, born in and a citizen of the United States, is not denied the equal protection of the laws by being classed by the state of Mississippi among the colored races who are assigned to public schools separate from those assigned to whites, when equal facilities for education are afforded both classes.

The Supreme Court has also upheld the right of a state to prohibit a private school from educating white and colored children together. This was decided in the case of *Berea College vs. Commonwealth*, in 1908. The college, a private corporation of Kentucky, was indicted and charged that it did permit and receive both white and Negro races as pupils for instruction in said college contrary to an act of Kentucky of March 22, 1904, entitled "An Act to Prohibit White and Colored Persons from attending the same school."

FINED \$1,000

The college was found guilty and sentenced to pay a fine of \$1,000. The Supreme Court held that the statute was valid as to corporations, although if it involved an individual it may be in conflict with the federal constitution in denying to individuals powers which they might rightfully exercise. Yet, the Supreme Court had previously held in many cases that the term "person" in the Fourteenth amendment applies to corporations as well as to individuals, but it did not follow that rule in this case.

The charter granted to the college in 1899, five years before the passage of the state statute, provided: "Its object is the education of all persons who may attend its institutions of learning at Berea, and, in the language of the original articles to promote the cause of Christ."

Justice Harlan, who had always been a friend of the Negro while on the Court, handed down a vigorous decision dissenting opinion condemning the Kentucky law. He said:

RAPS DECISION

"The capacity to impart instruction to others is given by the Al-lone of the contracting parties, will mighty for beneficent purposes; and make it subject to this burden or re-ferred with by Government—cer-tainly not, unless instruction is, in its nature, harmful to public morals agreed to sell land included in the imperils the public safety. The covenant to a Negro, and one of the other parties to the covenant brought in itself or beneficial to those who re-serve it, is a substantial right of injunction was granted and the matter affirmed by the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia. On appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court the case was dismissed on the ground that no constitutional question was raised.

The Court said that neither of the amendments to the constitution prohibited private individuals from entering into contracts respecting the control and disposition of their own property.

(THE END)

Negro. The owners make mutual covenants with each other and the covenants run with the land, so that

property, especially where the services are for compensation.

"But even if such right be not strictly a property right, it is, beyond question, part of one's liberty guaranteed against hostile State action by the Constitution of the United States. This Court has more than once said that the liberty guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment embraces 'the right of the citizen to be free in the enjoyment of all his faculties,' and 'to be free to use

them in all lawful ways'.... Justice Harlan further pointed out that if a state could forbid the teaching of two races together it could prevent their worshipping together, or meeting together politically or even shopping at the same time in the same store.

The Supreme Court put an end to the attempt of Southern cities and states to assign Negroes to the ghettos by declaring unconstitutional an ordinance of the city of Louisville. This was decided in 1917, in the case of *Euchanon vs. Warley*.

A Negro had agreed to buy a lot from a white man.

The lot was located in a block where there were eight residences occupied by whites, and, only two by colored. The ordinance prevented the occupancy of a Negro on a lot in the city in any block where the greater number of residences are occupied by whites.

The Supreme Court declared that the city ordinance was unconstitutional and violated the Fourteenth amendment. Property includes the right to use, and dispose of it, and the occupancy and sale of property cannot be inhibited by the states or any of their municipalities solely because of the color of the proposed occupant, said the court.

Even the Supreme Court of Georgia in the case of *Carey vs. Atlanta* (143 Ga. 192) held a similar racial segregation ordinance invalid.

UPHOLD D. C. LAW

The Supreme Court however has upheld the right of property owners in the District of Columbia to make valid agreements to the effect that no property owned by them should be sold, occupied, leased, or given to any

Court Decisions, Affecting the Negro-1937.

The Supreme Court

What It Has Done On Colored Cases

EDITOR'S NOTE: This is the first of a series of articles, prepared by a Chicago attorney, on Supreme Court decisions affecting Negroes, mainly since the Civil War. In view of the present national interest and bitter debate on President Roosevelt's proposal to augment the nation's highest tribunal, this survey, containing facts known to very few Negroes, assumes unusual significance. We suggest you read each article carefully and save them for reference.

By Attorney Sidney A. Jones, Jr., For ANP

1. SUPREME COURT DECISIONS ON DISFRANCHISEMENT.

These articles will merely point out the holdings of the Supreme Court in various matters concerning the Negro touching on the right to vote; the right to serve on juries; the right not to be deprived of life, liberty and property without due process of law; civil rights; Jim Crow laws; segregated districts, peonage and also separate education facilities. It will appear from these articles that the Supreme court has been a blessing and also a bane to the Negro, and it is especially true that the Supreme court during Reconstruction Days to a very large extent, nullified the acts of the Reconstruction Congress which intended to give full rights to Negroes throughout the length and breadth of the United States.

15th AMENDMENT

The Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution provided as follows:

Section One. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude. Section Two. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

In order to enforce the Fifteenth Amendment, Congress passed the Enforcement Act on May 31, 1870, for the purpose of enforcing the right of citizens of the United States to vote in the several states of the Union, and for other purposes and provided a penalty against any person or election official for refusing to allow a Negro to register or vote, and the Act also provided a penalty against any individual who "by force, bribery, threats, intimidation or other unlawful means shall hinder, delay, prevent or obstruct or shall combine or shall confederate with others to hinder, delay, prevent or obstruct any citizen from doing any act required to be done to qualify him to vote or from voting at any election, as aforesaid, such person shall for every such offense forfeit and pay the sum of \$500 to every person aggrieved thereby, and shall also for every such offense be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and

shall on conviction thereof be fined not less than \$500 or be imprisoned for not less than one month and not more than one year or both at the discretion of the Court."

LOSE FIRST CASE

In 1875 the case of United States v. Reese involving this statute came before the Supreme Court. There The defendants were convicted before the Supreme Court. There The defendants were convicted in the lower courts, but the Supreme Court reversed the conviction and count the vote of a Negro on the technicality that the Negro at a municipal election in Kentucky had been an indictment, although they stated that the injured persons were lucky. The Supreme court held that that the injured persons were persons of the section of the statute relating sons of color and of African descent. Inspectors of elections omitted all persons of color, and done against them were on account reference to race and color, and therefore the indictment could not of their race or color. The court held further that the ability of a government to offer protection is limited by the power it possesses to enforce the law. This was the first case brought to the Supreme Court by a Negro in order to enforce the protection and enjoyment of the Fifteenth Amendment and the Act of Congress passed pursuant to it. Citizens must look to the states and the federal government for their protection and enjoyment of Negro on a very narrow technical basis.

Violated in this case, and that since the Fourteenth Amendment prohibits state action and not individual action, the federal government could not punish purely individual action in this case.

FIRST FAVORABLE DECISION

The court held that the Fifteenth Amendment gave Congress the right to protect citizens Yarbrough upheld a section of the Fifteenth Amendment. The Fifteenth Amendment gave Congress the right to protect citizens in 1894 in the case of Ex Parte Yarbrough. The Supreme Court, however, did not sustain the claim of servitude, was beyond the limit of the Fifteenth Amendment. The Fifteenth Amendment gave Congress the right to protect citizens in the Northern District of Georgia for conspiracy to intimidate a colored person from voting for members of Congress in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment.

This is illustrative of the technical manner in which the Supreme Court time and time again defeated their efforts of the Negro to secure the full protection intended for him by the Constitution.

ANOTHER LOSS ON TECHNICALITY

Again in 1875 the Supreme Court in United States v. Cruickshank denied to the Negro the full benefit of the Enforcement Act. This case dealt with an indictment consisting of 32 counts for conspiracy under the Sixth Section of this Act. The intent of Charleston had brought suit against the board of managers of a general election to recover damages together with the intent unlawfully and feloniously to injure fully and wilfully rejecting his vote.

In 1900 in the case of Willey v. Sinkler, the Supreme Court had to decide a case brought up from South Carolina where a colored resident of Charleston had brought suit against the board of managers of a general election to recover damages in the sum of \$2,500 for wrongfully and feloniously to injure fully and wilfully rejecting his vote. The suit was brought under an act of Congress which provided that every person who under cover of a state statute, ordinance, regulation, custom, or usage, subjects or causes to be subjected to any citizen of the United States to the deprivation of any rights or privileges secured by color with the unlawful and felonious intent thereby to hinder, and citizen was deprived of his right to bear arms, to vote, and to assemble peaceably, to peacefully assemble, to bear arms, to vote, and to plead. The Supreme Court other proper proceeding for every such offense be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and

that he was a duly qualified elector he did not allege that he was registered. The Supreme Court held that since the South Carolina Constitution and Statute make it necessary to be registered in order to vote, the failure to make this allegation was fatal. It seems that any intelligent person would understand that an allegation that a person was a duly qualified elector and was entitled to vote would make unnecessary the allegation that he was duly registered.

WINS CASE BUT NO RELIEF

Another decision of the Supreme Court in 1902 upheld the right of a Negro, but denied him any remedy. This was the case of Giles V. Harris begun in the District Court of Alabama to compel the Board of Registrars of Montgomery County to enroll a Negro on the voting list. The bill was brought on behalf of the plaintiff and 5,000 other Negroes of the county similarly situated and circumscribed. The plaintiff applied in March, 1902 for registration as a voter and was refused arbitrarily on account of his color, while all white men were allowed to register. This was done all over the State. Under Section 187 of Article 8 of the Alabama Constitution persons registered before January 1, 1903, remained electors for life, while after that date severe tests came into play which would include perhaps a large part of the black race. This refusal to register the Negroes was part of a general scheme to disfranchise them.

After January 1, 1903, the only persons in Alabama who could register were those who could read and write any article of the Constitution of the United States and owners or husbands of owners of forty acres of land in the state in which they reside and owners of \$300 worth of personal property. The suit was brought under an act of Congress which provided that every person who under cover of a state statute, ordinance, regulation, custom, or usage, subjects or causes to be subjected to any citizen of the United States to the deprivation of any rights or privileges secured by color with the unlawful and felonious intent thereby to hinder, and citizen was deprived of his right to bear arms, to vote, and to plead. The Supreme Court held in not requiring election of officials to act under the constitutional provisions of the Alabama Constitution, and the Court also held that

Holmes that although the lower court had jurisdiction of the subject matter, the court was justified in not requiring election of officials to act under the constitutional provisions of the Alabama Constitution, and the Court also held that

Supreme Court's Record On Disfranchisement Reviewed

Series of Articles Begun On What the Nation's Highest Tribunal Has Done On Various Cases Involving The Negro

(EDITOR'S NOTE: This is the first of a series of articles, prepared by an able Chicago attorney, on Supreme Court decisions affecting Negroes, mainly since the Civil War. In view of the present national interest and bitter debate on President's Roosevelt's proposal to augment the nation's highest tribunal, this survey, containing facts known to very few Negroes, assumes unusual significance. We suggest you read each article carefully and save them for reference.)

By SIDNEY A. JONES, JR.

(For Associated Negro Press)

These articles will merely point out the holdings of the Supreme Court in various matters concerning the Negro touching on the right to vote, the right to serve on juries, the right not to be deprived of life, liberty, and property without due process of law, civil rights; Jim Crow laws, segregated districts, peonage, and also separate educational facilities.

It will appear from these articles that the Supreme Court has been a blessing and also a bane to the Negro, and it is especially true that the Supreme Court during Reconstruction Days, to a very large extent, nullified the acts of the Reconstruction period Congress which intended to give full rights to Negroes throughout the length and breadth of the United States.

15TH AMENDMENT AND ITS ENFORCING ACTS

15TH AMENDMENT AND ITS ENFORCING ACTS

The Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution provides as follows:

"Section One. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. Section Two. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

In order to enforce the Fifteenth Amendment, Congress passed the Enforcement Act on May 31, 1870, for the purpose of enforcing the right of citizens of the United States to vote in the several states of the Union, and for other purposes and providing a penalty against any person or election official for refusing to allow a Negro to register or vote, and the act also provided a penalty against any individual who "by force, bribery, threats, intimidation or other unlawful means shall hinder, delay, prevent or obstruct or shall combine or shall confederate with others to hinder, delay, prevent or obstruct any citizen from doing any act required to be done to qualify him to vote or from voting at any election, as aforesaid, such person shall for every such offense forfeit and pay the sum of \$500 to every person aggrieved thereby, and shall also for every such offense be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and shall on conviction thereof be fined not less than \$500 or be imprisoned for not less than one month and not more than one year or both at the discretion of the Court."

LOSE FIRST CASE INVOLVING ENFORCEMENT ACT

In 1875 the case of United States v. Reese involving this statute came before the Supreme Court. There had been an indictment against election inspectors for refusal to receive and count the vote of

a Negro at a municipal election in Kentucky.

The Supreme Court held that the section of the statute relating to inspectors of elections omitted all reference to race and color, and therefore the indictment could not be sustained against the election officials.

This was the first case brought to the Supreme Court by a Negro in order to enforce the Act of Congress passed pursuant to the Fifteenth Amendment and the Supreme Court held against the Negro on a very narrow technicality.

DECISION SUMMARY: CLAIM NOT SUSTAINED

The court held that the Act of Congress, not being confined to unlawful discrimination on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, was beyond the limit of the Fifteenth Amendment.

The Fifteenth Amendment gave Congress the right to protect citizens from the denial of the right to vote on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude, and the Supreme Court held that Congress had attempted to protect all citizens in the right to vote, and hence an indictment of election officials for refusing a Negro the right to vote could not be sustained.

This is illustrative of the technical manner in which the Supreme Court time and time again defeated the efforts of the Negro to secure the full protection intended for him by the Constitution.

**ANOTHER LOST
REVERSES LOWER COURT**

The defendants were convicted in the lower courts, but the Supreme Court reversed the convictions on the technicality that the indictments, although they stated that the injured persons were persons of African descent, did not allege that the wrongs done against them were on account of their race or color.

The court held, further, that the ability of a government to offer protection is limited by the power it possesses for that purpose, and that the citizens must look to the states and not to the federal government for their protection and enjoyment of the rights alleged to have been violated in this case, and that since the Fourteenth Amendment prohibits state action and not individual action, the federal government could not punish purely individual action in this

FIRST FAVORABLE DECISION IS RENDERED

The Supreme court, however, did in 1884 in the case of Ex-Parte Yarbrough uphold a section of a federal Reconstruction statute which sought to protect the Negro's right to vote. Several persons were convicted in the Federal Circuit Court in the northern district of Georgia for conspiracy to intimidate a colored person from voting for members of Congress in violation of a federal statute.

The convicted persons filed a petition for a writ of habeas corpus seeking their release on the ground that Congress had no power to pass a federal law preventing such an offense.

The Supreme Court denied the petition and held that Congress has the right to protect citizens in their right to vote.

**ELECTION CASE
FROM SOUTH CAROLINA**

In 1900 in the case of Willey v. Sinkler, the Supreme Court had to decide a case brought up from South Carolina where a colored resident of Charleston had brought suit against the board of managers of a general election to recover damages in the sum of \$2,500 for wrongfully and willfully rejecting his vote for a member of the House of Representatives of the United States for the state of South Carolina on November 6, 1894.

Again a colored citizen was deprived of his right to vote on a technical question of pleading. The Supreme Court threw out the case on the ground that although the plaintiff alleged that he was a duly qualified elector he did not allege that he was registered. The Supreme Court held that since the South Carolina constitution and

lector and was entitled to a nomination that he was desirous

The suit was brought under an act of Congress which provided that every person who under cover of a state statute, ordinance regulation, custom, or usage, subjects or causes to be subjected any rights or priviledges secured by the Constitution and laws shall be liable to the plaintiff applied in March, 1902 for registration as a voter. The plaintiff was justified in not requiring election officials to act under the voting law. The Supreme Court held in an opinion written by Justice Holmes that although the lower court had jurisdiction of the subject matter, the suit in equity, or other proper proceeding for redress.

and was refused arbitrarily on account of his color, while all white illegal constitutional registration provisions of the Alabama constitution were allowed to register. This was done all over the state.

Under Section 187 of Article 8 of the Alabama constitution perforcing its decree and that a court of equity will not act to remedy wrongs registered before January, 1933, remained electors for life, while political

Thus, we see that the Supreme Court specifically recognized the illegality of the Alabama constitutional provision, admitted that the subject matter was not beyond the court's jurisdiction, but at the same time refused to register the Negroes as part of a general scheme to disfranchise them.

WHO ARE GENTILED?

After January 1, 1903, the only persons in Alabama who could

Court Decisions, Affecting the Negro - 1937

SUPREME AND THE NEGRO COURT

Legislators Sought to Assist Newly Freed
Negroes After Civil War and Passed
Many Laws Toward This End

Sidney A. Jones, Jr.

writer of this series of articles on the Supreme Court and the Negro, of which this is the third, is a well-known Chicago attorney. In view of the present national interest and bitter debate on President Roosevelt's proposal to augment the nation's highest tribunal, this survey, written for the Associated Negro Press and The Amsterdam News, and containing facts known to very few people, assumes unusual significance.

(Continued from Last Week.)

III.—Civil Rights and Segregation

CONGRESS, immediately after the Civil War, desired to give full protection to former slaves in every state and the steps taken for this purpose were the Thirteenth Amendment, in force in 1865; the Fourteenth Amendment, in force in 1868, and the Fifteenth Amendment, in force in 1870, and the various statutes passed to enforce the amendments, were as follows: the Civil Rights or Negro question at all, but involved Enforcement Acts of April 9, 1866, the Civil Rights Act of 1867, the Act of February 28, 1871, the Ku Klux Act of April 20, 1871, and the Civil Rights Act of 1875, on the ground that by giving all of

Within a year after the Civil Rights Act of 1875 was passed which directly was depriving them of their property, penalized and punished discrimination, that is, the right to engage in the public accommodation, such as process of law, contrary to the Fourteenth Amendment, two cases were decided by the Court, which completely destroyed a long discussion of the history of the plan of the Reconstruction Con-

The Supreme Court in that the Louisiana statute did not violate the amendment; that if the constitutional Section three and four of right claimed by the plaintiff to be freed of a monopoly existed at all, it was not a privilege or immunity of a citizen of the United States as dis-

and finally the Court held that it was only the rights which owed their existence to the federal government, its constitution or laws that were placed under the special care of the national government.

Thus, it will be seen that the Court was very anxious to preserve to the South the right to deal with the Negro question. This decision, although it did not directly involve the Negro, nevertheless, in so far as it concerned the provision of the Fourteenth Amendment forbidding the state to abridge the privileges and immunities of a citizen, rendered that clause practically a nullity. The intent of the Reconstruction Congress in framing the language of the Fourteenth Amendment was directly contrary to the construction placed upon it by the Court.

The framers of this amendment not only desired to punish the South and elevate the Negro to the place of equality with the white man, but they also intended to place in the hands of the federal government powers to deal with this question heretofore exercised by the states.

It was well known that subsequent to the Thirteenth Amendment much legislation was passed in the South for the purpose of keeping the Negro in subjection, and federal action was necessary in order to protect the Negro's Rights, yet in the very first attempt to enforce the first clause of the Fourteenth Amendment the Supreme Court in this Slaughter House case by a decision of five to four defeated this attempt and differed both in respect to the intention of the framers and the construction of the language used by them.

TURNED TO STATE

Again in 1875 the Supreme Court in the case of United States v. Cruchshank made it clear that the Negro must look to the states for the protection of his civil rights and not to the federal government. This case was based on indictments against individuals under one of the Reconstruction statutes which prohibited any person to injure, oppress, threaten or intimidate any citizen with intent to prevent or hinder the free exercise and enjoyment of any right or privilege granted or secured to him by the Constitution or laws of the United States. The defendants in this case were charged with fraud

and violations against Negroes in the Louisiana State Elections.

The Court held that the rights

which the Negroes claimed were

violated and which Congress had sought

to protect, such as the right to peace-

ably assemble, to petition for redress,

to bear arms and to vote, were not

the rights which citizens enjoyed by

virtue of the Constitution of the

United States, and hence the actions

set forth in the indictment did not

come within the scope of the consti-

tution. Because the indictments did

not allege discrimination on account

of race, color or previous condition of

servitude, they could not be upheld.

interesting to note that in all of these decisions the judges who were in

sympathy with the Reconstruction

program attempted to uphold all of

the acts of Congress but were hindered by the judges who wished to main-

tain the status quo.

Quashed Civil Rights

The Supreme Court was also called upon during the Reconstruction period to pass upon action in the states dealing with Civil Rights for Negroes and almost invariably the lack of protection furnished Negroes by the Southern States and the Supreme Court in some instances had to reverse itself. In 1869, the Reconstruction government of Louisiana passed a statute which provided that all persons engaged within the state in the business of common carriers of passengers should give equal rights without regard to race or color in the accommodation of railroads, street cars, steam boats, stage coaches and all other vehicles.

In this case a colored woman sued the owner of a boat because she was not allowed to go into a cabin set aside for whites. The plaintiff had bought transportation from one point to another within the state. She re-

covered a judgement for \$1,000, which was sustained by the Supreme Court of Louisiana. The owner of the boat appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States and there this Louisi-

ana Civil Rights Act was pronounced unconstitutional on the ground that it related to commerce within the states and that only Congress had the right to regulate such commerce.

The Court said, "If the public good requires such legislation it must come from Congress and not from the states." But in spite of the fact that

provision of any of the amendments in 1877, in the Louisiana Civil Rights case, in 1883 the Court held specifically that it was unconstitutional even for Congress to do that specific thing.

Mississippi Supreme Court Acquits Killer

4-3-31

JACKSON, Miss., Mar. 31. (ANP).—In one of the few decisions of its kind ever rendered in the South, the state supreme court Monday freed Milton Jarman, tenant farmer, who had been convicted by a lower court and sentenced to life imprisonment for killing a white plantation overseer.

Jarman was charged with the murder, in December, 1935, of H. F. Woodruff. He was convicted the following March, although he said the killing was in self-defense when the white man beat and shot at him as the tenant attempted to move off the plantation.

The supreme court said that, from the evidence, the lower court should have directed the jury to find the defendant not guilty.

The only witness to the slaying was Jarman. He said Woodruff came in his house and beat him with an iron poker. After the overseer shot at him and missed, Jarman got his shotgun and killed the white man. He fled following the shooting, but later surrendered to officers.

WHAT THE SUPREME COURT HAS DONE ON NEGRO CASES

By ATTY. SIDNEY A. JONES, JR., For A.N.P.

IV.—CIVIL RIGHTS AND SEGREGATION (Cont.)

In the civil rights cases of 1883, involving the Federal Civil Rights Act, one of the plaintiffs sought to recover a penalty against a railroad company for the refusal of a conductor to let her in the woman's car. The Supreme Court held Congress had no power to punish the individual acts of a railroad company in Jim crowing a colored person. The inconsistency of the considerations of mere expediency or preme Court was clearly pointed out in a dissenting opinion by Justice Harlan, who said:

"The opinion in these cases proceeds, it seems to me, upon grounds entirely too narrow and artificial. I cannot resist the conclusion that the substance and spirit of the recent amendments of the Constitution have been sacrificed by a subtle and ingenious verbal criticism. It is not the words of the law but the internal sense that makes the a penalty against any person who law; the letter of the law is the knowingly hindered a master in rebody; the sense and reason of the law is the soul. Constitutional provisions adopted in the interest of liberty, and for the purpose of securing through national legislation, The Attorney General of Pennsylvania in this case urged upon the state of freedom, and belonging to Court that Congress could only American citizenship, have been so construed as to defeat the ends the people desired to accomplish, action, but to this the Court turned which they attempted to accomplish, a deaf ear and adjudged that plish, and which they supposed many legislation by Congress to they had accomplished by changes enforce the master's right was auin their fundamental law. By this thorized by the Constitution.

I do not mean that the determina- The constitutionality of the function of these cases should have given Slave Act of 1850, rested, as been materially controlled by con-

the implied power of Congress to was very similar to the statute enforcement of the law, the Supreme Act of 1850 was much stronger than the one of 1793. It placed at the disposal of the masters seeking v. Ducuir. In that case the dis-

to recover a slave the whole power of the nation. It invested a com-

missioner, appointed under the act, commerce among the states, and

with power to summon the posse this decision was sustained by the

comitatus for the enforcement of Supreme Court of Louisiana, be-

its provisions, and commanded all cause the statute purported by its

good citizens to assist in its prompt express words to control carriers

and efficient execution whenever within the state, yet the Chief Jus-

their services were required as partice of the Supreme Court of the

of the posse comitatus. The Su-United States in beginning his

preme Court in Ableman v. Booth opinion, for some strange reason

(21 How. 506), 1859, Chief Justice stated, "For the purpose of this

Taney writing the opinion, ad-case we must treat the Act as re-

judged it to be, "in all of its pro-quiring those engaged in inter-

visions fully authorized by the con-state commerce to give all persons

stitution of the United States." traveling in that state upon pub-

lic conveyances employed in such

Justice Harlan continued: business, equal rights and privi-

that the national government has leges in all parts of the convey-

the power, whether expressly giviance without distinction or dis-

or not, to secure and protect rights discrimination on account of race or

conferred or guaranteed by the color."

Constitution, U. S. vs. Reese, U. S. The Louisiana court did not hold

92, 214; Shauder vs. W. Va. 100the statute regulated interstate

U. S. 303. That doctrine ought notcommerce. It held just the oppo-

now to be abandoned when the in-site. Nevertheless the Supreme

quiry is not as to an implied powerCourt of the United States had to

to protect the master's rights, but take this attitude in order to kill

what may Congress, under powers the statute and defeat the Negro.

expressly granted, do for the pro-The Chief Justice of Louisiana in

tention of freedom and the rightsupholding the Act in his opinion

necessarily inhering in a state of said, "The act does not attempt to

freedom." Unfortunately for theregulate commerce. It was enacted

Negro, none of the other justices solely to protect the newly en-

of the court thought and felt likefranchised citizens of the United

Justice Harlan.

States within the limits of Louisi-

ana from the effects of prejudice

against them."

Other cases dealing with Jim Crowism have been before the Su-

preme Court all to the detriment of the Negro. In the case of

Plessy v. Ferguson, the Supreme Court in 1896 decided that the Jim Crow Coach

Louisiana statute which requires law, but in every case the Supreme

railway companies to provide equal but separate accommodations for any relief. This is true even

white and colored passengers and though some of its opinions have

been inconsistent and some direct-

ly contrary to previous decisions.

In 1914 in the case of McCabe v.

Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe

Railway company, the Supreme

Court held that the Oklahoma

statute requiring separate but

equal accommodations for white

and African races, must in the ab-

sence of a different construction by

the state court be construed as

applying to exclusively interstate

commerce, and as so construed it

does not contravene the commerce

clause of the United States Con-

stitution. However, the Supreme

Court did hold that the law did

discriminate against colored per-

sons in permitting carriers to pro-

vide sleeping cars, dining cars, and

chair cars to be used exclusively by

the white persons and hence did

violate the Fourteenth Amendment

even though there was a limited de-

mand for such accommodations by

the colored race as compared with

the white race.

However, in the action brought

by five Negroes to enjoin the en-

Court denied relief holding that

the allegations in the bill were too

vague and that none of the com-

plainants had been refused accom-

modations.

The opinion written by Justice Hughes who is at the present time the Chief Justice, did hold that although the Supreme Court would uphold the separate coach law it would not uphold a proper case brought before it that part of the law which excluded Negroes altogether from sleeping cars, dining cars, and chair cars. In 1900 the Supreme Court in the case of Chesapeake and Ohio Railway Company v. Kentucky upheld the Kentucky Jim Crow coach law, even though the railroad was operated in interstate commerce from Virginia to Kentucky.

Again in 1910 in the case of Childs v. Chesapeake and Ohio Railway company the Supreme Court denied relief to a Negro who was thrown out of a coach of a train into a Jim Crow car, on the ground that the act of the defendant railroad was merely the act of the private citizen and that no constitutional question was raised, and that a carrier could by regulations separate white and colored passengers even in interstate commerce, provided there is no discrimination in the accommodations.

In a very recent case of South Covington and Cincinnati Street Railway Company v. Kentucky, the Supreme Court again upheld a Jim Crow law. In this case a street railway company was indicted for violating a Kentucky law which required railways in the state to furnish separate coaches for white and colored passengers. The car in question was an ordinary street car solely engaged in interstate trips from Cincinnati to Covington, and 80 per cent of the passengers were interstate. Nevertheless the Supreme Court upheld the law. It is interesting to note that the nature of this identical railway was considered a few years prior by the Court and it was held that traffic between Kentucky and Ohio on the same cars under the same management constituted interstate commerce, and that the ordinance of Covington, which undertook to determine the number of cars and passengers to be carried was invalid.

(To be Continued)

Court Decisions, Affecting the Negro - 1937

SUPREME AND THE NEGRO COURT

Famous Berea College Fined \$1,000—Made to Close Doors to Negroes in Case Upheld by United States Supreme Court

Amsterdam News 4-24-37

Sidney A. Jones, Jr.

writer of this series of articles on the Supreme Court and the Negro, of which this is the sixth and final, is a well-known Chicago attorney. In view of the present national interest and bitter debate on President Roosevelt's proposal to augment the nation's highest tribunal, this survey, written for the Associated Negro Press and The Amsterdam News, and containing facts known to very few people, assumes unusual significance.

(Continued from Last Week.)

saved the Negro from an act of Congress aimed at denying him any rights. On the other hand, the Su-

Peonage was given a severe blow by the Supreme Court in the case of Bailey vs. Alabama, decided in 1911 (219 U. S. 219). The court for the first time gave real effect to the Thirteenth Amendment by holding the Alabama peonage law invalid.

This law attempted to make the violation of a contract for personal services a penal offense.

The court held that a state cannot compel one man to labor for another in payment of a debt by punishing him as a criminal if he does not perform the service or pay the debt. The state of Alabama later tried to evade an act of Congress prohibiting slavery, but was prevented by the Supreme Court in United States vs. Reynolds in 1914 (235 U. S. 133).

Practically all cases where the Negro has been helped by the Supreme Court arose from discrimination against him by some of the Southern states. The Supreme Court never willingly submitted to this discrimination. They have fought up to the Supreme Court of the United States, but it has also sanctioned much discrimination, including separate schools, Jim-Crow laws, disfranchisement by white primaries and other methods.

The Supreme Court has never

states discriminate against Negroes education are afforded both classes. The Supreme Court has also upheld the right of a state to prohibit Negroes to support all schools, and held the right of the citizen to be then giving them unequal facilities. A private school from educating free in the enjoyment of all his facilities, and 'to be free to use them in all lawful ways.' Justice Harlan further pointed out that if a state could forbid the teaching of two races together it could charge that it did permit and receive both white and Negro races as prevent their worshipping together. Certain Negroes filed a petition to pupils for instruction in said college or meeting together politically, or enjoin the Tax Board from collecting a tax for the high school, on the March 22, 1904, entitled "An Act to even shopping at the same time in ground that there was no high school prohibit white and colored persons the same store. for Negroes and therefore therefrom attending the same school." should be no taxes collected for a white high school.

When the case reached the U. S. Supreme Court it was held that the relief asked for would not be granted. The Board of Education justified its refusal to provide a Negro high school on the ground that there were only sixty Negroes who wanted to attend high school, and that if it involved an individual ordinance of the city of Louisville, they provided a Negro high school which accommodated 300 children.

The Supreme Court refused to grant the relief prayed for because it either would impair the efficiency of the high school provided for white in this case.

It would be to take from the white of the state statute, provided: "Its

children educational facilities belonging to them without giving to who may attend its institutions of learning at Berea, and, in the lan-

guage of the original articles, to promote the cause of Christ."

Justice Harlan, who had always been a friend of the Negro while on any of their municipalities solely being dissented opinion condemning the occupant, said the court.

Even the Supreme Court of Georgia, in the case of Carey vs. Atlanta

"The capacity to impart instruction (143 Ga. 192), held a similar racial

to others is given by the Almighty segregation ordinance invalid.

Allowed D. C. Covenants.

The Supreme Court, however, has upheld the right of property owners to sell land included in the ground that no constitutional question was raised. The court said that the occupancy and sale of property owned by them should be part instruction, harmless in itself sold, occupied, leased, or given to or beneficial to those who receive it, any Negro. The owners make much compensation.

But even if such right be not from one of the contracting parties strictly a property right, it is beyond will take it subject to this burden or question, part of one's liberty guaranteed against selling, giving, or anted against hostile state action by leasing it to Negroes.

On appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court the case was dismissed on the

covenant to a Negro and one of the other parties to the covenant brought the constitution prohibited private individuals from entering into contracts of their own property.

THE END.

Court Decisions, Affecting the Negro - 1937

What The U. S. Supreme Court Has Done On Negro Cases

By ATT. SIDNEY A. JONES, Jr.
(For ANP)

V. JURY SERVICE AND DUE PROCESS OF LAW

It is well known that few of the sion because of their race and color ever get a chance to serve on a jury, the grand jury was a violation of the and that Negroes, therefore, in being prisoner's constitutional rights, which tried for criminal offenses do not have the trial court was bound to redress the advantages that would otherwise and the remedy for any failure or be theirs. This is especially a handi- the part of the trial court in that recap in cases involving offenses against spect is in the Supreme Court, and persons of other races. It is also a the conviction of the defendant by distinct disadvantage in the trial of such a jury will be reversed by the civil cases where one party is white Supreme Court. This rule has been and the other colored. If the jury is consistently followed in saving Negroes, all white, and the Negro has no oppor- from conviction in Southern courts. tunity to have members of his race. A similar case was Carter vs. Texas among them, it is easy to see that he 177 U. S. 442 (1900). Seth Carter will be at distinct disadvantage. Why a Negro, was indicted for murder and

will be at distinct disadvantage. Why a Negro, was indicted for murder and is it true, then, that even though in moved to have indictment quashed or some of the Southern states Negroes ground that Negroes were illegally comprise from one half to one fourth excluded from the grand jury. The of the population, and in some coun- court refused to hear any evidence on ties Negroes actually outnumber the the motion and the motion was de whites, Negroes very rarely are called nized and defendant convicted. The upon to take part in the administra- defendant appealed to the U. S. Su- tion of justice by serving on a jury? preme Court where the judgment was What has the Supreme Court said reversed and the court repeated the es- about this? tablished rule:

Since 1879 the Supreme Court has "Whenever by any action of the constantly held that the right to serve state, whether through its legislature or juries cannot be denied any person through its courts or through executive because of race. In that year in the five or administrative offices, all persons of Ex Parte Virginia, it was held sons of the African race are excluded from that section four of the Civil Rights solely because of their race or color Bill passed by Congress in 1875 was from serving as grand jurors in the valid, and that in indictment against criminal prosecution of a person or state officer under his action for the African race, the equal protection excluding persons from the jury list on of the laws is denied to him, contrary account of their color would be sus- to the 14th Amendment of the Contained.

This question of Negroes serving on juries is usually raised when a Negro is convicted in a state court and appeals his conviction to the U. S. Supreme Court on the ground that he was denied due process of law and the right to equal protection of the laws as guaranteed by the 14th Amendment. That is the provision that saved the nine of members of his race. That is to say, the Supreme Court will not reverse a conviction of a Negro merely because no Negro sat on the jury. A second appeal to the Supreme Court, in the case of Norris vs. Alabama, decided because no Negro sat on the jury. April, 1935. It was conclusively proved at the trial in Alabama that Negroes were not called to jury service and systematically excluded from the right to be called for jury service in the years, even though there were many particular county where the trial took place. The case of Virginia vs. Rives

The precedent for the Scottsboro cases, however, was laid down in 1880 by the Supreme Court in the famous case of *Neal vs. Delaware*. In this case

dicted for the murder of a white man. When the case was called for trial the defendants made a motion that the court modify the venire, which was composed entirely of the white race. is, of his neighbors, fellows, associates, persons having the same legal status in society as that which he holds."

composed entirely of the white race. In Gibson vs. Mississippi (162 U. S. 165) 1896, the Supreme Court practically nullified the effect of the removal statute as construed in Strauder vs. West Virginia. A Negro defendant in an indictment filed a petition asking the cause to be removed to U. S. circuit court under Section 641 of U. S. statutes, which provided for removal if defendant could not secure his constitutional rights in the state courts. On a habeas corpus petition his rights under U. S. Constitution were taken from the county jail and delivered to the United States marshal. When the case reached the U. S. Supreme court this court held against the Negroes and ordered that they be re-delivered to Virginia, on the ground that the laws of Virginia did not exclude Negroes from jury service, and that if they were excluded it was infringement of their constitutional rights. The petition for removal was denied by the Mississippi court and the defendant convicted.

of Covington, which undertook to determine the number of cars and passengers to be carried was inve-

JURY SERVICE AND DUE

What the Supreme Court Has Done to the Negro

EDNEY A. JONES, Jr., Attorney

IV.—CIVIL RIGHTS AND SEGREGATION

(Continued)

Other "Jim Crow" Cases

Negroes have taken several other cases to the Supreme Court in an effort to defeat the Jim-Crow law, but in every case the Supreme Court has found a way to deny any relief. This is true even though some of its opinions have been inconsistent and some directly contrary to previous decisions. In 1914 in the case of McCabe v. Chisholm, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway Company, the Supreme

4-1737

way Company, the defendant,
ourt held that the Oklahoma sta-
te requiring separate but equal
commodations for white and
African races, must in the ab-
sence of a different construction
by the state court be construed as
aplying to exclusively inter-state
commerce, and as so construed it
does not contravene the commerce
use of the United States Constitu-
tion.

The petition was denied and the de-Court held that the Oklahoma defendant was convicted in the statute requiring separate but equal court. On appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court the conviction was reversed and the cause ordered transferred to the federal court. The Supreme Court said: "The right to a trial by jury is guaranteed to every citizen of West Virginia by the constitution of the state, and the constitution of juries is a very essential part of the protection such a mode of trial is in accordance with the Constitution of the United States." *Under signature*

However, the Supreme Court did hold that the law did discriminate against colored persons in permitting carriers to provide sleeping rights it is selected to determine; that

cars, dining cars, and chair cars to be used exclusively by the white persons and hence did violate the Fourteenth Amendment even though there was a limited demand for such accommodation by the colored race as compared with the white race.

However, in the action brought by five Negroes to enjoin the enforcement of the law, the Supreme Court denied relief holding that the allegations in the bill were too vague and that none of the complainants had been refused accommodations.

The opinion written by Justice Hughes who is at the present time Chief Justice, did hold that although the Supreme Court would uphold the separate coach law it would not uphold a proper case brought before it that part of the law which excluded Negroes altogether from sleeping cars, dining cars, and chair cars. In 1900 the Supreme Court in the case of Chesapeake and Ohio Railway Company v. Kentucky upheld the Kentucky Jim-crow coach law even though the railroad was operated in interstate commerce from Virginia to Kentucky.

Virginia to Kentucky.
Again in 1910 in the case of
Childs v. Chesapeake and Ohio
Railway Company the Supreme
Court denied relief to a Negro who
was thrown out of a coach of
train into a Jim-Crow car, on the
ground that the act of the defen-

It is well known that few of the eight million Negroes of the South ever get a chance to serve on a jury, and that Negroes, therefore, in being tried for criminal offenses do not have the advantage that persons would otherwise be theirs. This is especially a handicap in cases involving offenses against persons at the time of other races. It is also a distinct disadvantage in the trial of civil or railway cases where one party is white that, and the other colored.

If the jury is all white, and the Ohio Negro has no opportunity to have some members of his race among them it is easy to see that he will be

ant railroad was merely the act Railway company v. Kentucky, the Supreme Court again upheld a Jim Crow law which violated a Kentucky law which required railways in the state to furnish separate coaches for white passengers even in interstate commerce, provided there is no discrimination in the accommodation and colored passengers. The case in question was an ordinary street car case.

at distinct disadvantage. Why is it true, then, that even though in some of the Southern states Negroes comprise from one half to one-fourth of the population, and in some counties Negroes actually outnumber the whites, Negroes very rarely are called upon to take part in the administration of justice by serving on a jury? What has the Supreme Court said about this?

Since 1879 the Supreme Court has consistently held that the right to serve on juries cannot be denied any person because of race. In that year in the case of *Ex Parte Virginia*, it was held that section four of the Civil Rights Bill passed by Congress in 1875 was valid, and that an indictment against a state officer under this section for excluding persons from the jury list on account of their color would be sustained.

This question of Negroes serving on juries is usually raised when a Negro is convicted in a state court and appeals his conviction to the U. S. Supreme Court on the ground that he was denied due process of law and the equal protection of the laws as guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. That is the provision that saved the nine Scottsboro Alabama boys in the second appeal to the Supreme Court, in the case of *Norris v. Alabama*, decided April 1935. It was conclusively proved at the trial in Alabama, that Negroes were not called to jury service and had not been for a large number of years, even though there were many Negroes in the county qualified to serve as jurors.

PRECEDENTS
The precedent for the Scottsboro case, however, was laid down in 1880 by the Supreme Court in the famous case of *Neal v. Delaware*, in this case William Neal, a Negro, was indicted and convicted for rape and sentenced to death. The constitution of Maryland at that time contained a provision excluding Negroes from jury service.

Civil Record of Court

"The record of the court indicates that on every major issue involving Negroes and labor it has adopted a reactionary position. It has refused to allow Congress to enforce the amendments by a civil rights law. But it has permitted states to adopt all manner of Jim Crow laws against us."

"The court has refused to approve legislation to guarantee Negroes the right to vote, but it has permitted political parties to set up bars in primary elections which effectively prevent three million Negro citizens from voting."

Say Negro Hating Justices

"No better example of the attitude which the Supreme Court takes towards Negroes," declared Davis, "exists than the recent explosion of Mr. Justice McReynolds who publicly insulted the Negro people in a recent speech in defense of the court."

National Negro Congress Begins Fight Against the U. S. Supreme Court

Says Court Defeats Negro Rights

Davis indicated that an initial 50,000 folders giving the complete record of the court had been distributed. He predicted that Negro voters in key states in the mid-West and East would be a deciding factor in securing the votes of Senators and Representatives in support of President Roosevelt's modernization plan.

Negro organizations of every type were urged this week to support President Roosevelt's proposal for modernization of the United States Supreme Court by John Davis, secretary of the National Negro Congress. The request was made in a four-page folder which aids the unemployed or law which aids the unemployed or which guarantees better protection to Negroes is declared unconstitutional by the court." *June 10, 1931*

Davis also indicated that local councils of the organization in 25 key cities had begun a campaign to support Labor's Non-Partisan League in its efforts to reform the High Court.

"A great many people," declared the Congress secretary, "are saying that the Supreme Court has protected the Negro people,

But the facts are that the Supreme Court has for the past 60 years used every possible method to defeat the rights given us by the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution.

Civil Record of Court

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